

## Message Text

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DRAFTED BY EUR:LBLAINGEN:IO:SLEWIS:GMD

APPROVED BY P:PHABIB

S/S - MR. REDDY

EUR:AAHARTMAN

S-MR. AHERNE (PHONE)

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TO USDEL SECRETARY NIACT IMMEDIATE

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NODIS

CHEROKEE WHITE HOUSE PLEASE PASS TO SECRETARY KISSINGER

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PLOS, GR, TU, US

SUBJECT:ACTION MEMORANDUM - AEGEAN ISSUE BEFORE THE UNSC  
(S/S 7617752)

FROM HABIB TO THE SECRETARY THROUGH EAGLEBURGER

1. THE PROBLEM: ALTHOUGH THE RETURNS ARE NOT ALL IN, THE  
OUTLINES OF A KIND OF DEAL IN NEW YORK ON THE AEGEAN CRISIS  
MAY BE STARTING TO FALL INTO PLACE. WE NEED TO DECIDE  
WHAT ROLE WE PLAY AND WHEN IN WRAPPING IT UP WITH SOME  
KIND OF SIDE ARRANGEMENT BETWEEN THE GREEKS AND TURKS ON  
THE SISMIK'S FUTURE MOVEMENTS.

2. DISCUSSION: THE LATEST EUROPEAN DRAFT RESOLUTION IS  
DESCRIBED BY THE GREEKS AS SERIOUSLY WATERED DOWN FROM THE  
ORIGINAL VERSION BUT THEY WILL PROBABLY BUY IT IF THEY  
CAN GET SOME SATISFACTION ON THE SISMIK. THE TURKS HAVE  
TOLD THE BRITISH THAT WHILE THEY STILL HAVE PROBLEMS THEY

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FIND THE PRESENT VERSION MUCH IMPROVED. THE BRITISH ARE

ACTIVELY BROKERING LANGUAGE CHANGES BETWEEN BOTH PARTIES, AND NOW BELIEVE THEY MAY ACHIEVE AN AGREED TEXT BY SOMETIME FRIDAY. FOR EXAMPLE, THE TURKS INSIST THAT BEFORE THEY CAN GO ALONG WITH A RESOLUTION, THE PREAMBULAR REFERENCE TO THE GREEK-TURKISH COMMUNIQUE OF MAY 1975 IN WHICH BOTH PARTIES

AGREED TO TAKE THE CASE TO ICJ MUST BE DROPPED AND THE EMPHASIS PUT ON DIRECT TALKS. THE GREEKS MAY BE PREPARED TO LIVE WITH THIS, PROVIDED REFERENCE TO THE POTENTIAL AVAILABILITY OF THE ICJ REMAINS IN THE OPERATIVE PORTION OF THE RESOLUTION, AND THE BRITISH BELIEVE THIS IS ACHIEVABLE. BEFORE MID-DAY TOMORROW THEY MAY BE CLOSE TO A FINAL TEXT, SUBJECT TO SATISFYING THE GREEKS ON THE SIDE ARRANGEMENTS.

3. ALEXANDRAKIS WAS IN TO SEE ME TODAY TO PROBE AS TO WHAT WE WERE PREPARED TO DO ON THE FUTURE ITINERARY OF THE SISMIC, RECALLING YOUR CONVERSATIONS ON THIS WITH BITSIOS IN NEW YORK. HE SPOKE OF AN ARRANGEMENT WITHIN WHICH THE GREEKS WOULD SUSPEND THEIR UNILATERAL APPROACH TO THE ICJ IN RETURN FOR SUSPENSION OF THE SISMIC'S SAILINGS. IF THE U.S. COULD WORK OUT THIS KIND OF UNDERSTANDING, AND THE ADOPTION OF AN ACCEPTABLE RESOLUTION BY THE COUNCIL, BITSIOS WAS PREPARED TO BEGIN DIRECT TALKS, EITHER IN NEW YORK, WASHINGTON OR ELSEWHERE. I TOLD HIM I UNDERSTOOD WHAT HE WAS SAYING, THAT WE WERE WELL AWARE OF THE PROBLEM, AND THAT I WOULD BE IN TOUCH AFTER TALKING WITH YOU.

4. WHAT ALL THIS AMOUNTS TO IS THAT WE MIGHT BE ABLE TO GET THE GREEKS TO GO ALONG WITH FURTHER CHANGES IN THE RESOLUTION OF A KIND THAT WOULD GET THE TURKS TO AGREE WITH IT BUT ONLY IF SOME DEAL IS FIRST STRUCK ON THE SISMIC AND THE ICJ. THE QUESTION IS HOW THIS IS DONE AND WHAT ROLE WE PLAY IN IT. THE SISMIC SAILED LAST NIGHT ON THE THIRD STAGE OF ITS OPERATIONS (SAID TO RUN FOR 5 DAYS), HEADED FOR COORDINATES THAT WOULD PUT IT IN AN AREA SOUTH OF THE ISLAND OF KHIOS. MOVEMENT IN THIS AREA COULD WELL TAKE IT WITHIN DISPUTED AREAS BUT THESE ARE AREAS THAT COULD BE REGARDED BY THE GREEKS AS RELATIVELY UNCONTROLLED.

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VERSIAL AND IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN HOW DEEPLY THE TURKS ACTUALLY PENETRATE EVEN THERE.

5. THE OPTIONS. WE COULD PROCEED IN ONE OF SEVERAL WAYS. WE COULD GO AHEAD AND TRY UNILATERALLY TO COME UP WITH SOME SUGGESTIONS AS TO PARTICULARLY SENSITIVE AREAS THAT WE THEN PASS TO THE TURKS AS OUR IDEAS AS TO AREAS WHICH THE SISMIC SHOULD BEST AVOID. THIS WOULD NOT

BE EASILY DEVELOPED, HOWEVER, AND IT COULD PUT US SQUARELY IN THE MIDDLE OF THE LEGAL ARGUMENTS. ALTERNATIVELY, WE COULD GO TO THE TURKS, THROUGH CAGLAYANGIL IN NEW YORK, AND SUGGEST THAT SINCE THEY KNOW THE MORE CONTROVERSIAL AREAS BETTER THAN WE AND SINCE THE SHIP SHORTLY WILL HAVE COMPLETED THE THIRD PHASE OF WHAT WAS ORIGINALLY DESCRIBED AS A FIVE-STAGE OPERATION, HE

WOULD HOPE THE TURKS THEMSELVES MIGHT FIND WAYS TO PUT RESTRAINTS ON THE SISMIK'S ITINERARY AS PART OF AN UNDERSTANDING INVOLVING ALSO THE SUSPENSION OF THE GREEK APPROACH TO THE ICJ. WE COULD SUGGEST THAT THE SIMPLEST APPROACH WOULD BE FOR THE TURKS TO FIND WAYS TO KEEP THE SISMIK IN THE HARBOUR AT THE END OF ITS CURRENT STAGE AND WHILE DIRECT TALKS ARE UNDERWAY BETWEEN THEM AND THE GREEKS. (IN THIS CONNECTION, WE NOTE FROM ONE REPORT TODAY THAT THE SISMIK REPORTEDLY WILL GO INTO DRY DOCK AT IZMIR TO HAVE ITS BOTTOM SCRAPED AT THE END OF THE CURRENT STAGE.)

6. I SUGGEST THAT YOU AUTHORIZE ME TO GO UP TO NEW YORK TOMORROW TO WORK BEHIND THE SCENES WITH TAP BENNETT AND THE PARTIES IN DEVELOPING A FINAL PACKAGE. ALTERNATIVELY, I COULD DELAY UNTIL SATURDAY, MEANWHILE LETTING THE PARTIES KNOW THAT I EXPECT TO COME UP AFTER I HAVE SEEN YOU TOMORROW. SINCE BOTH PARTIES AND PARTICULARLY BITSIOS SEEM RATHER ANXIOUS TO WIND THIS UP, HOWEVER, I THINK IT BEST THAT I GO UP TOMORROW; THIS WOULD LEAVE TIME TO ENGAGE YOU DIRECTLY ON SATURDAY, IF NECESSARY, TO NAIL DOWN OVER THE PHONE WHATEVER LOOSE ENDS MAY REMAIN BY THAT TIME. MY OBJECTIVE IN NEW YORK WOULD BE TO BUILD ON THE BRITISH EFFORTS TO GET AN AGREED RESOLUTION AND GET A PACKAGE RESULT ALONG THE FOLLOWING LINES:

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(A) PERSUADE THE TURKS TO AGREE THAT SINCE THEY WILL SHORTLY HAVE COMPLETED THREE STAGES OF THE SISMIK'S OPERATIONS AND THUS ESTABLISHED CLEARLY, BOTH LEGALLY AND POLITICALLY, THEIR RIGHTS TO DO RESEARCH IN THE DISPUTED AREAS, THEY SHOULD NOW FIND A WAY TO KEEP THE SISMIK IN PORT WHILE TALKS ARE UNDERWAY.

(B) IF THE TURKS INSIST THAT WE TAKE THE RESPONSIBILITY OF DESIGNATING AREAS FOR THE SHIP'S FUTURE SAILINGS, I WOULD DEFINE THESE IN VERY BROAD TERMS WHILE AVOIDING GIVING THEM A MAP.

(C) WITH SOME UNDERSTANDING FROM THE TURKS ON THE SISMIK IN HAND, I WOULD THEN TIE DOWN WITH THE GREEKS

THEIR WILLINGNESS TO SUSPEND THEIR UNILATERAL APPROACH  
TO THE ICJ.

(D) BOTH SIDES AGREE TO ACCEPT THE RESOLUTION AS  
MODIFIED.

(E) BITSIOS AND CAGLAYANGIL AGREE TO BEGIN DIRECT TALKS  
AT A PLACE OF THEIR OWN CHOOSING.

7. RECOMMENDATION: THAT YOU AUTHORIZE ME TO PROCEED ON  
THIS BASIS, GOING TO NEW YORK TOMORROW AND LEAVING  
OPEN FOR THE MOMENT YOUR SUPPORTING ROLE, POSSIBLY  
BY TELEPHONE ON SATURDAY.

APPROVE:                      DISAPPROVE:

8. ALTERNATIVELY, THAT I DEFER GOING TO NEW YORK  
UNTIL SATURDAY PENDING FURTHER DIRECT DISCUSSIONS HERE  
WITH YOU TOMORROW.

APPROVE:                      DISAPPROVE:

9. DRAFTED BY: EUR:LBLAINGEN/IO:SLEWIS  
DRAFTED BY EUR:AAHARTMAN - P:PHABIB.  
S/MR.AHERNE. ROBINSON

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